KAPUR SINGH: PHILOSOPHER AND SCHOLAR BEACON LIGHT OF SIKH DOCTRINES AND POLITY

by TRILOCHAN SINGH

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Sardar Kapur Singh, M.A., (Pb.), MA. (Cantab), formerly of the Indian Civil Service, ex-Member Parliament, M.L.A. (Punjab), National Professor of Sikhism; Author of a Number of Books and Research Papers in English and Punjabi on Sikh religion, philosophy and polity. He died on 13th August, 1986.

SARDAR KAPUR SINGH: SCHOLAR AND PHILOSOPHER

Sardar Kapur Singh, a philosopher and scholar of outstanding merit, was a stalwart intellectual, an opinionative and fiercely independent thinker who was at times blunt and dogmatic in his well-thought out concepts and ideas and even assertive in some of his notions on the fast changing situations, which could be contradicted or challenged. But this great scholar was never wrong when he took a firm and rocklike stand on historical truths of Sikhism and the doctrines of Sikh scriptures. On some contemporary issues on which he was not well informed or misinformed by his detractors he always accepted truth, when authentic facts came to him.

He was, during the last thirty, years unmatched in his robust passion for initiating the right type of thinking for a political struggle for the religious and cultural integrity and political freedom of the Sikh people. His moral vigour and intellectual power, his knowledge and wisdom reached the noblest heights when he channelized his energies through his philosophical and political writings. Within such a decadent and degenerating organization as Akali Dal and its allied Panthic organization, he was the only consistent thinker and exponent of political ideals which could save the Sikhs, the Akali Dal and even the country, but, unfortunately for him, his greatest opponents were the unscrupulous Akali Jathedars and petty-minded Chief Ministers and ministers who exploited him, misused his political talent and then heaped insult after insult, and injury after injury on him by betraying the sentimental trust he had for years for Akali Dal as the sole representative of the Sikh people.

His fundamental inspiration flowed from his deep consciousness and religious perception of the great historical achievements and destiny of the Sikhs, as envisaged by Guru Gobind Singh in his prophetic proclamation on the "Creation of the Khalsa Holy Order". But his inner urge and impetus to think seriously about it and start writing about it came from his personal sufferings and humiliation at the hands of anti-Sikh rulers of post-partition India whose game of coercing, bribing, corrupting and exploiting the helplessness of leaderless Sikhs has climaxed in desecration and destruction of their most sacred shrine, the Golden Temple-Akal Takht complex. In a country boasting of religious freedom the worst dictator in our thousands of years of history has never dared to control religions shrines in the manner our present Delhi rulers are controlling not only the Golden Temple complex but the sacred Takhats of Patna Sahib, Hazoor Sahib, Nanded, and the Historical Sikh shrines of Delhi, through a handful of unscrupulous, irresponsible stooges and hirelings of the government.

PROMETHEUS UNBOUND

First came the onslaught of Nehru-government on Kapur Singh's thinking as a Sikh officer, the details of which he has given in his well-known and much sought after book Sachi Sakhi. At first it appears to be a vivid portrayal of the Nehru government towards him personally, and the vindictive injustice which was heaped on him. But in larger context, Kapur Singh warns all future I.A.S. and I.P.S. officers that if they stand for moral principles inspired by Sikhism and if they do not participate in the corrupt machinery of religious and cultural erosion of Sikhism, their fate could be worst. The tragic sufferings of Simranjit Singh Mann who is still rotting in prison and innumerable other I.A.S. and I.P.S. officers — nay, even army Brigadiers and Generals, proves that Kapur Singh's warning at which some people laughed thirty years ago, has proved to be a prophecy which Nehru's daughter, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, and his grandson, Rajiv Gandhi have fulfilled to the letter. Sikh armymen of national and international prestige, Sikh officers remembered by everyone for their sense of duty, moral courage and matchless character, and even Sikh civil servants and journalists are today passing through much more painful agony than that suffered by this outstanding I.C.S. officer immediately after the partition.

When Kapur Singh involved himself in Akali Dal activities, be found, slowly but surely, in spite of my repeated warnings, that he was getting trapped in an equally callous and cruel machinations of Akali leaders. He felt like the Greek god, Prometheus, who was chained to the rock of an insensitive party run by selfish, greedy, narrow-minded, illiterate Jathedars. These Jathedars managed to become powerful by callous use of Sikh Temple funds and blind support of a handful of rich Sardars, and clever lawyers who could buy the conscience and the Akali mass base through these Jathedars, who controlled Akali Dal and S.G.P.C. These handful of unscrupulous leaders which included some short-sighted petty minded Sants (who lacked all the virtues of a Sikh Saint) exploited the thoughts and political talents of Kapur Singh by moving closer to him when they wanted him to write down awe-inspiring political resolutions, and then kicking him and insulting him as soon as they acquired some ministerial power.

Thus these Akali leaders continued to eat into the mind and flesh of this great scholar like the vultures that attacked the Greek god, Prometheus, for stealing the fire of divine wisdom from heaven and giving it to mankind. Kapur Singh's friends repeatedly tried to heal the wounds but these political vultures of Akali Dal spared no chance of hurting him one way or the other. Many persons did not hesitate to belittle him and call him a mad man who still believed in these high ideals of moral purity and political idealism in the face of situation created by these corrupt Akali Jathedars and money-minting Sardars. Their politics based on lies, irreligion, misuse of Gurdwara funds and their misleading and hypocritical declaration of fasts unto death, and theatrical morchas were all aimed at seeking some crumbs of ministerial power and not fighting for the political prestige, freedom and dignity of the Sikhs. Thus they never sincerely wanted what they cried for and so could never achieve.

They continued to hurt Kapur Singh even during his last illness and death. The selfless and courageous manner in which Kapur Singh tried to give them political guidelines, and his efforts to give high social cultural ideals of Sikhism and reveal the historic foundations of our sacred Institutions to these worthless Akali Jathedars, Sants and aspirants after ministerial chairs, was matched only by their brutish reactions, and treacherous betrayals of the Sikh people, which will be studied and written by discerning researchers and scholars in the near future. They will assess the causes of all the disasters Sikh religion, culture and sacred shrines have suffered between the years 1981-1988. These Akali leaders, all of whom still have their own coterie of hired intellectuals, and student leaders, had reason to ignore, fear or even blackmail scholars who chose to remain at a safe distance from these selfish and narrow-minded leaders, as they did from the anti-Sikh Delhi rulers. But what reason did these Akali leaders have to use, abuse, praise and insult to the point of humiliating Kapur Singh as soon as their purpose of exploiting him was fulfilled, has always remained a mystery to me and perhaps to the whole Sikh community.

It was Kapur Singh who wrote their original manifesto and all the Political Resolutions from the Self-Determination Resolution of 4th July 1965 proposed by Gurnam Singh (former Punjab Chief Minister) and Giani Bhupinder Singh (former Head Priest of Golden Temple) to the much trumpeted Anandpur Resolution which the new confused and directionless leaders of the so-called United Akali leaders are trying to unearth once again in some form, to use it as an umbrella against the hailstorm of the wrath of millions of Sikhs who have been victims of the worst inhumanities of ruthless repression of the Central government in recent past.

The Sikh people would continually ask these blunder-headed, incompetent Akali ex-Ministers and Jathedars, now suddenly pretending to be different from what they have always been, by merely unrolling their tied up beards, "Why did they mercilessly ignore, run down and even attack this pillar of wisdom, this passionate upholder of Sikh ideals, and principles of Sikhism, who was so highly respected and honoured in all academic circles and centres of learning in India and abroad."

Some day history will answer this question and expose threadbare the Janus-headed, irreligious and dangerous policies of these Akali Jathedars and ex-Chief Ministers and Ministers, Their grasping mentality, naked nepotism and corruption and organized attempt to liquidate leading scholars, artists, and up-coming youth leaders and politicians and their repeated slavish submission to the very Congress (I) rulers, whom they pretended to fight, has brought the Sikhs to the present state of humiliation and serfdom under the present draconian laws.

The shocking misuse of funds of Golden Temple and hundreds of historical Sikh shrines, the details of naked loot and plunder of sacred treasure-chests (golak) by that mischievous rogue G.S. Tohra who has managed to keep himself installed S.G.P.C. Chief for fourteen years, is known to every sewadar, granthi (priest), ragi, manager of Sikh historical shrines and the members of S.G. P.C. Much more solid evidence can be provided by prominent non-political Sikhs of eminence in Amritsar. Even more evidence can be provided by Saint Babas connected with some kar sevas, and still more by those hordes of Sant Babas who paid something like one to five lakhs of rupees as bribery to G. S. Tohra, and his agents to get kar sewa of some historical place. Many of these

Sant Babas donned silken robes only to hide their criminal activities as smugglers and anti-social activities in the name of Sikh religion. This can be proved in courts when there is some justice in our courts.

Kapur Singh saw this moral and spiritual decadence, and in religious and political leadership. He witnessed a steady liquidation of Sikh ideals and traditions at the hands of this Jathedar-cum-rich Sardar leadership. All his books, all his learned expositions and scholarly articles were a relentless battle against this destructive and organized liquidation of all that was most precious in Sikhism. A more shocking spectacle was an organized greed and craze among materialistic and money-minded Sikhs who follow these mindless asses with money bags to buy quotas, chairs and petty positions.

KAPUR SINGH: THE ARISTOCRATIC BUREAUCRAT IN LAHORE

My first few articles in English and Punjabi brought me into contact with almost all the leading Sikh and non-Sikh scholars of Punjabi, Urdu, Hindi and Sanskrit in Lahore and Amritsar in 1944. I met Kapur Singh for the first time at the residence of the eminent poet Prof. Mohan Singh, Editor "Panj Darya". After that I met him almost every week either at his posh hotel suite or in his office. These meetings and discussions were very fruitful. What surprised me was that Kapur Singh's knowledge of Sikh scriptures, classical Sikh historical records like Gurbilases, Suraj Prakash and other works far exceeded the knowledge of the Principals and all the Professors of Khalsa College, Amritsar and Lahore. I persuaded him to write and put on record his remarkable perceptions about Sikhism because I believed one book written by him would put into shade all the trash that was written by these professors. The only works of high standard that were then available were some works of Prof. Puran Singh published by London publishers and Dharam Anant Singh's 'Plato and the True Enlightener of Soul' published by Luzoe and Co., London (1912). Kapur Singh assured me that he would write something but up to 1954 he could not concentrate on serious writing beyond a few learned articles in Punjabi published in Panj Darya and some Urdu articles published in Jang Bahadur Singh's well known weekly "Shere-Punjab". The founder of this weekly, Sardar Amar Singh, a companion of Akali leader Baba Kharak Singh was a close friend of Kapur Singh and the most courageous writer and journalist of pre-partition days.

During pre-partition days Kapur Singh was a typical I.C.S. bureaucrat. Dressed in snow-white turban, white shirt and white pant, his personality reflected a stiff-necked aristocracy acquired from his official position and status. It was quite different from the gracious and extremely refined aristocracy of the Sikh upper class intellectuals and Sardars like Bhai Vir Singh, Sir Jogindra Singh and Sardar Umrao Singh Majithia, (father of Amrita Shergill) whom I met during these years.

The rustic and robust peasant soul of Kapur Singh, his staunch Sikh fiery rural culture was visible to the naked eye even in this dress, when one listened to his ebullient scholarly conversations marked with rural accents and expressions. His heroic stances, his sharp-edged jokes, his roaring laughter, his repeated profession of deep faith and conviction in the ultimate glory, greatness and victorious destiny of Sikh Panth were unparalleled. He possessed a rich fund of humour and fertile imagination. His wit and joyous hilarity was generally marked with caustic humour.

I was in my mid-twenties and Kapur Singh was about forty. I just marveled at his prodigious memory and the fluency and accuracy with which he could quote what he had read in scriptures and Persian and Braj historical records.

Most of the budding writers were falling prey to communist propaganda about progressivism which they identified with Stalinism. The cheap manner in which Comrade Jagjit Anand carried it on with the Red flag in his right hand and the British flag in his left hand was disgraceful and disgusting. Kapur Singh helped me with some material to write about twenty articles against Jagjit Anand's nasty propaganda in which Sikhism was one of the main communist target.

Kapur Singh was a student leader when All India National Congress Session of 1929 was held in Punjab. A day earlier, veteran Akali leader Baba Kharak Singh led a procession seated on an elephant which the "London Times" described as the "most impressive spectacle of human congregation" that put the Congress show into shame and shade. As a great admirer of Baba Kharak Singh, Kapur Singh believed for long that Akali Dal had the capacity to lead the Sikhs but he realized it too late that the agitations, morchas and the processions led by leaders sitting on elephant were very much there after partition, but the riders like Baba Kharak Singh who sacrificed his property and life for the Panth were replaced by empty-headed, selfish and greedy Jathedars and Sants who have all died in humiliation and defeat, and the few that are living are rowing their sinking boats in the dark seas. It is a pity that Kapur Singh did not take up serious writing in English before the partition when he had ample resources and opportunities for getting his books published in England. Perhaps he was destined to taste suffering before the founts of his creative energy burst forth into uncontrollable outlets.

III

KAPUR SINGH: THE PHILOSOPHER AND SCHOLAR WHO BLAZED A NEW TRAIL IN SIKH STUDIES

After the partition of India into predominantly Muslim Pakistan and predominantly Hindu Bharat, there were three personalities whose inherent pride in Sikh historical traditions, their status and standing as dynamic Sikhs, backed by their tremendous silent influence on the Sikh people worried Pundit Nehru and Sardar Patel, who were both hell-bent not only to throw their promises to the Sikhs given before partition to the wind but had a determined policy of keeping the minorities particularly Sikhs, Muslims, Christians and Dalits (backward classes) in an under privileged and enslaved position during their reign. The whole story of their behind the scene conspiracy will stand exposed when the thirty pages of Maulana Azad's book, translated and preserved by my late friend Prof. Hamayun Kabir are published.

These three persons, each gifted and dynamic in own way were Kapur Singh, I.C.S.; Maharaja Singh and General Kulwant Singh. Someone put it into Pundit Nehru's head that these three Jat--Sikhs might get together and organize a resistance movement which may consolidate Sikh power in this region and it might become an uncontrollable force. So all three were liquidated by Nehru-Patel axis, each in a different manner. These stalwarts of the Congress did not hesitate to conceal their prejudices and policy of running down the Sikhs on all fronts and blaming their inferior status and bad karma for the fate they were carving for them with all the nefarious political weapons at their disposal in free India.

General Kulwant Singh might have suffered a much worst fate if Dr. Datta, a close friend of Pundit Nehru had not convinced our Kashmiri Brahmin Prime Minister that General Kulwant Singh was not a Jat Sikh but a Muhiyal Brahmin of Datta Clan, to prove which his school certificates and family records were dug out.

In the political field Maharaja Yadavindra Singh was the wisest, the noblest and most sincere leader who could lead the Sikhs but the unwise, selfish Master Tara Singh and some brutish Jathedars of Akali Dal crippled him. I knew him very intimately. I met him just before he was to leave for his Ambassadorial post, which he did not like at all, and from which he was never to return. Considering his unusual gifts of leadership, his sincere and deep love for the Sikh people and tradition, I can still say that all the Akali leaders of his times, who were claiming to be leaders, were not fit to unloose the shoes of this great Prince. Kapur Singh refused to be defeated or crushed. He fought all his life like a wounded tiger who forgets his wounds in the fury and passion of the battles he was fighting.

After the partition Kapur Singh stayed mostly at Simla where I met him during summer almost every year. Kapur Singh, the British trained bureaucrat and aristocrat had the Sikh-like courage to live in utter simplicity like a fakir and yet maintain his pride and dignity like a dethroned King who refuses to renounce his kingliness.

Whatever his suffering, whatever his compromises with some treacherous Akali leaders, Jathedars and Sants, he refused to bend his knees either before the ruling power that were trying to crush him and to expose him to blackmail and ridicule, nor did he budge an inch from his stand on authentic Sikh ideals and principles before these blue-turbaned treacherous Akali leaders, who used him and abused him, praised him to his face and insulted him and belittled him behind his back, only to fulfill their low and mean ambitions, by misleading the Sikhs with high-sounding slogans and throwing them into the dark pit of defeat and humiliation just to get some ministerial power that did not last. This still continues to be their policy.

Guru Gobind Singh has said in his Autobiography "Those who calmly endure suffering In mind, body and spirit, For the love of Justice and Truth And never give up even in sorrow and pain Their intense and sincere love of Truth They attain the highest Spiritual Abode (20)

Suffering roused Sardar Kapur Singh's creative powers and it turned out to be a blessing in disguise for the generations to come which will receive tremendous inspiration from his writings. It is his God-given gift to inspire Sikh youth, through his talks and convincing writings which frightened the Akali Ministers and Jathedars and they deliberately kept him away from the centres of their autocratic power-structures, which have now completely collapsed like a wall of sand.

KAPUR SINGH'S WORKS AND RESEARCH PAPERS ON SIKHISM

In his first major work "Baisakhi of Guru Gobind Singh" published by his friend, Poet Mohan Singh, in 1959, Kapur Singh gives a remarkable exposition of the "Emergence of the Khalsa Holy Order" and its symbols and ideals in the vast setting of Hindu-Buddhist-Islamic historical traditions of India. To those narrow-minded fanatics and purblind interpreters of the Tenth Guru, who have neither understood Guru Gobind Singh's life and works in Dasam Granth, nor are able to see God, Truth and Eternal-values in other religions, Kapur Singh's interpretation of the Khalsa Holy Order in the setting of comparative study of religions is useless. But I can say after a concentrated study of the Life and Works of Guru Nanak and Guru Gobind Singh from their own writings that such people can never interpret either Guru Nanak or Guru Gobind Singh and they can never know the essence of their personality as Prophets with such purblind vision and willful ignorance of their works. The trend in this direction of studying Sikhism in larger philosophic context was first set by Dharam Anant Singh (a Greek Scholar) in his "Plato and the True Enlightener of Soul", (1912) and carried to sublime mystical heights by Prof. Puran Singh in his matchless works, particularly the last three volumes on "The Spirit of the Sikhs". Kapur Singh who stood first in philosophy and psychology in Punjab University and the scholar in Moral Philosophy by Prof. Broad in Cambridge has given this exposition in philosophic idiom, which may be beyond the intellectual grasp of unphilosophic literary men of Punjab. That does not lessen the importance of Kapur Singh's works but enhances it.

While the Hindu scholars in Bengal, Assam, South India are always anxious to know what Sikhism truly is as revealed by the Sacred writings of the Gurus, the Central government and Hindu Scholars of Hindi-belt, obsessed by their maniac craze for Hindi and Hindu Imperialism, started an organized campaign to prove that Sikhism is the fifth lower caste of Hindus and Guru Gobind Singh created the Khalsa only to serve as *Chowkidars* of Hindus and defend them from attacks from non-Hindus. When these Hindus feel that they do not even need them as *chowkidars* and protectors they can slaughter them, insult them, humiliate them and burn their most sacred temples. A number of so called Sikh scholars co-operated with this movement initiated by Central govt. to acquire positions, cheap honours and chairs in the Universities. It is against this onslaught Kapur Singh and I had to fight a bitter battle in many seminars held in Universities and academic centres.

Kapur Singh's position on the basic doctrines of Sikhism can be stated in his own words thus:

1. Sikhism is a social religion, non-ethnical, oecumenical grounded in a political society, directed and committed to propagation and establishing of a plural world society, tolerant,

open, progressive and free in character. Thus Sikhism and the Sikhs form a unique religion and a unique society, which and who can be clearly distinguished from the other religions and political societies of the world.

- 2. Guru Nanak was not a mere saint, for, a saint is one who manifests in his life the true essence of an already established creed. Guru Nanak is emphatic that "I can think of no one entitled to claim my allegiance as a matter of right." (bia sijhai ko nahi bahe dosafa pae Asa). He was not a Bhagat proper, for, he repudiated the basic tenets of the medieval Bhakti movement of India, namely the doctrine of avatarvad and devotional worship of one form of the already manifest Vishnu through utter and unreserved devotion, although he accorded a high place to integration of trained emotions in the life of a religious person.
- 3. In particular, Guru Nanak is the first prophet born in India in the sense of one who claims that the religion he preaches is a revealed religion. A revealed religion is one which is imparted through a chosen individual as a consequence of his encounter with God. It is not the result of a mystical experience of a facet of reality acquired by an individual through discipline or innate propensity. It is not an impersonal empathy with some eternal truths that are seen by individuals but which, in their origin and formulation, are wholly and utterly unmade-made apurushya, such as Vedas are. The religious truths, which Guru Nanak preaches have been revealed to him, so Guru Nanak claims through a direct and face to face encounter with God, at some level of consciousness about which our psychological insights are still almost purblind. "I preach just as the Word is revealed to me". "Jaisi mai avai khasam ki bani taisa kari gian ve Lallo".
- 4. The Sikhs are a living people knit into a political organization, the Khalsa, and they have no intention of going under simply because those others view the current situation and realities otherwise. The Sikhs shall make the greatest mistake of their life if they accept the position of becoming mere camp followers of those who make the division of indivisible India a possibility, and those who proclaim that a nation can be artificially manufactured out of half-baked themes extracted from the 19th century history of Western Europe.

A nation does not spring forth from the earth as a mushroom after rain. It must struggle as a banyan tree against wintery winds and dry spells. A nation is not produced out of the corpses of living and pulsating organism and a nation is not built through intellectual arrogance and spinney. The Khalsa cannot lend itself to be used in a self-defeating process of this kind. The Khalsa shall never accept or submit to the position that technology, with its attitudes and values, is a sufficient culture or that present preoccupation with industrial production and economic goals can satisfy all human dimensions of life and can replace religion as the supreme concern of man. The Khalsa shall uphold the banner of peace and mutual understanding among men, so that the entire mankind may progress and prosper."

Kapur Singh spared no energy, and no effort to firmly uphold the basic tenets of Sikhism and the highest ideals of Sikh traditions. Together we fought many battles against the corruption that had overtaken S.G.P.C. management of Golden Temple complex and a continued debasing of the high moral and spiritual ideals of Akal Takht and the Golden Temple complex.

Kapur Singh thus blazed a new trail in Sikh studies by presenting authentic and illuminating exposition of Sikh doctrines and traditions in the philosophic language of oriental and western thoughts. It was a remarkable break away and cutting through popular books written by some Khalsa College professors giving pedestrian views of Sikh religion in undergraduate text-book style. These books have been ignored by all serious students of Sikhism in recent years.

Kapur Singh was larger than life and full of emotional contradictions, but few Sikh scholars have been so consistent, so positive and so authentic in their writings on Sikh history, philosophy and polity as Kapur Singh has always been. Perhaps for this very reason our Universities, our Guru Nanak Foundation and Guru Gobind Singh Foundation controlled and presided over by Sarkari Do-nothing chairmen always kept Kapur Singh and serious scholars like him at a safe distance, and are still working according to the dictates of Punjab and Central government, displaying their big names and concealing their ugly & demeaning activities. Recently the wily semi-literate political scoundrel G. S. Tohra, S.G.P.C. Chief, was appointed President of Guru Gobind Singh Foundation, with like-minded assistants and office-bearers.

KAPUR SINGH'S BATTLE FOR HISTORIC STATUS OF GOLDEN TEMPLE AND SANCTITY OF AKAL TAKHT TRADITION

Akali leaders at first posed to be the saviours of Sikh religion and politics. Then they started fooling the Sikhs with high-sounding programmes and misusing religious place. Then they started the most shocking corruption of misusing Temple funds. Then Tohra-Badal-Talwandi axis started using Golden Temple complex as dens for smuggling and other irreligious and illegal activities. Sant Fateh Singh not only started sacrilegious activities in Akai Takht building but used the upper floor as his dera-cum-party conspiracy rooms, where the Akali leaders prostrated before him as the super-mahant of the Sikhs. I have seen Mr. Gurnam Singh (former Chief Minister), and General R.S. Sparrow prostrating before him like an illiterate Hindu bowing before elephant god Ganesh. Inflated by his ego, Sant Fateh Singh changed four Takhts to five, built *Havan-Kunds* where he declared he would burn himself along with a number of like-minded sycophants and hypocrites of Akali Dal. Sardar Kapur Singh and I together campaigned relentlessly against these nefarious moves. This provided the background to a number of important articles some of which have been published as pamphlets.

There is another incident which forms the background of his pamphlets like *Raj karega Khalsa*. Nirlep Kaur who perhaps considers herself Phoolan Devi (well-known deceit) of Sikh politics, backed by an armed gang provided by her he-man Sant Virsa Singh, Mehrauli, forcibly occupied Sis Ganj Gurdwara and prevented Sikhs from going inside for many days. Manjit Singh Calcutta, was her supporter and paid propagandist whom as the late Gian Singh Rarewala (Nirlep Kaur's father) told me, she paid Rs. 2000 per month. Some months later he switched his loyalty to GS. Tohra, SG.P.C Chief who perhaps doubled his allowance. He is now a V.I.P in G.S. Tohra-Badal-J.S. Talwandi Axis of splintered United Akali Dal, and undoubtedly a star V.I. P. of some secret Govt. agency which permits him to go to any foreign country when he likes, come back when he likes, enter prison where he likes and come out and find himself planted in every group. He considers himself a mini G.S. Tohra and a leader of sorts who will sink every boat which he is made to steer by this notorious G.S Tohra-J.S. Talwandi Axis with Parkash Singh Badal upholding their Black Panthic flag. He was the man behind Nirlep Kaur's misadventures in Sis Ganj to capture Sikh Shrines of Delhi and he is the key figure in every nasty and sacrilegious event happening in S.G P.C., Akali politics and the Golden Temple complex today.

The Delhi Sikh Gurdwaras were placed under the control of five eminent Sikhs: Sardar Jogendra Singh, Governor of Rajasthan; Bhai Mohan Singh Ranbaxy, S.B. Ranjit Singh; Justice Tikka Jagjit Singh and Sardar Pritam Singh, all men of integrity, and far better Sikhs than any we have in Akali Dal or today. The office was placed under the administration of a God-fearing and Retired IAS. officer, Sardar Iqbal Singh, one time Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar. The first decision they took was never to allow Nirlep Kaur and the like to speak from the Gurdwara stage even on Gurpurb days. The second thing they decided was never to agree to any such decision

coming from Mrs Indira Gandhi's government which might hurt the Sikhs. The first instruction they received from the Home Ministry was to stop the recitation "Raj kare ga Khalsa" after the congregational prayer. I wrote a long reply historically documented which they sent to the Home Ministry, firmly refusing to change this tradition. But I asked Sardar Iqbal Singh and the Board to acquire the opinion of at least nine or ten more established scholars to strengthen their hands before the Government picks up its hireling Sikh intellectuals who would be prepared to sign any document prepared by the government to attack the most sacred traditions for pelt or patronage. The Board wrote to nine more scholars including Sardar Kapur Singh, Bhai Jodh Singh, Dr Ganda Singh and others. All of them backed the stand already taken by the Board, Kapur Singh prepared his well known paper "Raj kare ga khalsa" which was published by journals and as pamphlet and subsequently used on some other occasions also The government, however, later used Bhai Jodh Singh to make such utterances as

"State power is not necessary to sustain religion and politics must be insulated from religion altogether. Bhai Jodh Singh never hesitated to change his opinion for getting some title or position from the government, during British and Congress Raj Kapur Singh concludes in this learned pamphlets. "The Sikh doctrine of 'Raj kare ga khalsa' is useful socially and necessary if society is to hold together. There is no higher truth and more reliable guidance available to mankind than the principles embedded in and implicated in the words spoken by the blessed mouth of Guru Gobind Singh:

Raj karega khalsa rahe na koe Khwar hoe sabh milainge bache sharan jo hoe.

UPHOLDING HE SANCTITY OF THE GOLDEN TEMPLE AND AKAL TAKHT

The Sikh Gurus created four Takhts in which Akal Takht attached to the Golden Temple acquired the status of supremacy. All historical records mention these four Takhts. The Shiromani Prabandhak Committee Gurdwara Act of 1925 and its half a dozen amended editions before 1947 and after 1947 up to 1960 mention four Takhts. Then Sant Fateh Singh who occupied Akal Takht and made it seat of his hypocritical *manhantship* thought he was strong and powerful to create a fifth Takht in Damdama Sabo Talwandi which in historical records acquired the status of *Manji Sahib* only. The Delhi Gurdwara Board asked all leading scholars and historians about their opinion on this issue made controversial by Sant Fatah Singh and crooks around him. The list of scholars included Kapur Singh also. All scholars unanimously rejected Sant Fateh Singh's fifth Takht. Sant Fateh Singh acquired opinions of some of his petty semi-literate gianis and granthis and they justified all the nonsensical views of Sant Fateh Singh. Kapur Singh and I carried on a relentless campaign for the historicity of four Takhts and condemned Sant Patch Singh's attempt to denigrate and pollute the Akal Takht by his continued unholy presence and sacrilegious acts and utterances from there.

The High Priests of these sacred shrines were now reduced to the position of petty granthis and pujaris who failed to save the Akal Takht and the Golden Temple complex from sacrilegious activities and shameless use of the Gurdwara funds by S.G.P C. Everyone of these leaders had to pay a heavy price for these sacrilegious activities. Both Sant Fateh Singh and Sant Chanan Singh died in disgrace and humiliation. The history of the years 1983-1988 will reveal the tragic and humiliating consequences of this policy of Akali Dal and S.G.P.C. leaders, who have learnt nothing from the events of past five years.

VII

KAPUR SINGH'S WARNING IN 1971: "IF SIKH POLITICAL PROBLEMS ARE NOT SOLVED TO THEIR SATISFACTION PUNJAB WILL SOON PRODUCE THUGS, CRIMINALS, NAXALITES AND TERRORISTS"

In 1971 Kapur Singh wrote a long letter to me in Punjabi about one "Santokh Singh of Chandigarh" who like many similar scribes, bribed by the government, wrote absurd pamphlets suggesting that the Guru Granth was against indulging in politics, and that the traditions of Akhand Path had no sanction in Gum Granth and even the Khalsa Baptism and Code of Conduct are unnecessary because there is nothing about it in Guru Granth. Kapur Singh asked me to give an appropriate reply to it.

During the same month, one Mr. Shiv Lal, a former Sub-editor of Tribune produced whole issues of a weekly in Delhi filled with Namdhari arguments that Guru Granth was not the Guru but the Namdhari cult-guru was the Guru of the whole Sikh community. I wrote to Kapur Singh that I will take up the challenge posed by Shiv Lal and the Namdharis and he must take up and thoroughly expose Santokh Singh and the like. Incidentally my articles against Shiv Lal's Namdhari campaign and Kapur Singh's scathing criticism of Santokh Singh's statements appeared in the same issues of "Sikh Review" in August 1971. After two of my articles were published on Namdhari's nonsensical themes of projecting themselves as 11th, 12th and 13th gurus of the Sikhs our of their petty-minded cult, Shiv Lal met me in Indian Coffee House, Delhi, and apologized and assured me that he will not write for the Namdharis anymore. One prominent Namdhari Baba also came to my residence in Ludhiana to express regret and requested that I should not write against them as I was a great admirer of Baba Ram Singh and his contributions to Sikh history.

But Kapur Singh's long essay entitled "Sikhism and Politics" published in Sikh Review August, 1971, was not a mere refutation of Santokh Singh and other hirelings of the Govt like him, but is in my opinion decidedly the best analysis of the authentic political stand of Sikhs and Sikhism and a threadbare exposition of the Ruling Congress policy towards Sikh political demand.

While strongly warning the Congress government and Hindu fundamentalists against the dangerous consequences of their policy of the big fish swallowing the smaller fish like the Sikhs, Muslims and the lower castes, his pre-vision rises to sublime prophetic heights in this article when he says in unambiguous terms that if the Sikhs are not given a Home-land within the bounds of Indian constitution, and if Sikh religion and culture continues to be attacked and denigrated, Punjab will plunge into a dark period, and give rise to anti-social gangs of smugglers, women lifters, highway men, Naxalites and Terrorists. These are the memorable prophetic words of Kapur Singh:

"Back of Sikh society, behind their energy, their history-making potency, and their productive capacity, there is something as powerful as it is unsubstantial; it is a set of ideas, attitudes and convictions and the confidence that these ideas are viable. The Sikhs, if they are driven to the conclusion by the machinations of the present day rulers of India and by the political stupidity of a class of Sikh intellectuals, that their collectivity and the ideas and beliefs that have sustained it are no longer viable and relevant to the present situation, they will erupt before fading away. They will not become a part of Hindu Society as some short-sighted Hindu politicians believe. They will become accretions to anti-social gangs of smugglers, women-lifters. highwaymen, Naxalites and Terrorists, as those who have studied the pulsations of Sikh Society in recent times know full well. Then the deposit of Sikhism and the Sikh way of life, the panoply of history-making power will be as nothing and the darkness will gather and the north of India shall fall a prey to dark anti-social hordes, the ultimate impact of which on the history of India and this region of the world nobody can foretell. The future develops mysteriously, secretly and unfolds itself silently without fore-caution and there will appear no warning head-lines in the morning editions of favourite newspapers of these obstreperous Sikh intellectuals and over-clever rulers of India, before such a catastrophe befalls them".

This prophetic warning given in August 1971 went unheeded and the dark consequences of ignoring this prophetic warning are there before us in all their horror, and agonizing terror in August 1988, the year and month of Kapur Singh's second death anniversary.

Those who have sunk the ship of Sikh prestige, and dishonoured legitimate political demands are once more coming out of their criminal holes to pose as saviours, as if their irreligious policies, their massive sacrilegious corruption in the Golden Temple complex and other religious places for the last fourteen years has not already done irreparable damage and harm. No other people in the world would ever take such a disastrous step to invite these very political thieves, plunderers of Temple funds, destroyer of all the sacred traditions of the Golden Temple complex to lead the Sikhs into the last pit of hell, as is being done by some so-called united Akali Dal leaders to fool the Sikhs once more.

The Sikh masses though grimly silent are dead determined to punish them and throw out of power; and completely eliminate these hard core traitors and political thugs and their illegally and arbitrarily appointed incompetent and worthless Jathedars of Akal Takht and other High Priests, who have so far distinguished themselves by their cowardice and perfidious activities flouting all well established historical traditions.

VIII

KAPUR SINGH'S POLITICAL THOUGHT AND HIS AKALI DAL RESOLUTIONS

Kapur Singh left with me a volume of his political thoughts, his resolutions prepared for Akali Dal and his papers on Sikh polity. He wanted me to write an Introduction to it giving the background of each and to add to it some of his papers which he could not get. We attempted to get it published during his life time, but the Akali leaders and the Jathedars felt that they would be the first causality if it was published and the book may expose their hypocrisy and treachery as well as repeated betrayal of the Sikh cause. So backed by the govt they did everything to prevent its publication and the publication of other books of Kapur Singh. Here I can only give a glimpse into the Akali Dal's political resolutions and the manner in which these political resolutions and their author Kapur Singh, were treated by Akali Jathedars and Akali Sants and Sardars. The following were some of the important resolutions.

- 1. Self-Determination Resolution passed on 4th July, 1955 moved by Sardar Gurnam Singh and seconded by Giani Bhupinder Singh, ex-Head Granthi of Durbar Sahib. We know what Gurnam Singh and Giani Bhupinder Singh did after that,
- 2. Resolution of the: Working Committee of Shiromani Akali Dal 1966 and Resolution of 17th All India Akali Conference held on 11th December 1966 demanding autonomous constitutional status for Punjab.
- 3. When Kapur Singh brought the followers of Master Tara Singh to the fold of Sant Fateh Singh's leadership he was appointed Vice-President of Akali Dal and a resolution demanding "Sikh Homeland" within the Indian Union was passed unanimously. When Akali Dal acquired ministerial power under the Chief Ministership of Gurnam Singh, Sant Fateh Singh besides posing as leader of the Sikhs also wanted to become Vishnu and Bhagwan Ganesh of Jan Sangh and Communists, Homeland resolution was disowned and all petty district Jathedars raised a hue and cry to expel Kapur Singh from Akali Dal. Kapur Singh explained the demand in detail to the correspondent of "Current" saying:

Since the Akali Dal of Sant Fateh Singh functions as a fascist and totalitarian body packed with 'Jathedars' who have no notion of what is proper and constitutional, I neither expect a hearing nor understanding from these quarters. But it is certain that I will not submit to a position which is wholly harmful to the interests of the Sikh people.

4. Anandpur Sahib Resolution drafted by Kapur Singh and approved by the Working Committee on October 16-17, 1973 at Anandpur Sahib. Sukhdev Singh, Tribune Journalist, reported many distorted versions of Anandpur Resolution on Monday, September 13, 1982, notably Dr. Bhagat Singh's version and Ajmer Singh's version. When Dr. Bhagat Singh (a physician of Sant Fateh Singh) came to me with his version I told him to his face that this was not the original Anandpur resolution prepared by Kapur Singh. "How can you say so", asked Bhagat Singh. "I have the copy of the original in my files and the language of this

- distorted version is not the language of Kapur Singh. It is your bad and clumsy English," I said, He smiled shame-facedly and said, "This is what our Akali Dal wants".
- 5. Ludhiana Resolution, which was a virtual repetition of Anandpur Sahib Resolution but as Ludhiana is not a holy city and this resolution was passed under the Chairmanship of a very unholy man, Jathedar Jagdev Singh Talwandi, this Resolution was thrown into oblivion.

Now under the present tragic situation the splintered Sarkari United Akali Dal is again projecting this unscrupulous and unholy Jathedar Jagdev Singh Talwandi who is expected to take out some crude version of Anandpur Resolution from under his pillow, and come forward to lead the Akali Dal to the last pit of self-destruction. Everyone knows that this unscrupulous Jathedar, Jagdev Singh Talwandi has no following besides his own shoes even in his home district, Ludhiana. But he has Rajiv Gandhi's support.

The Jathedars J. S. Talwandi, G.S. Tohra and their legal advisor Gurnam Singh Tir never submitted a memorandum against the Nirankari killings in Punjab and Kanpur but they submitted a lengthy memorandum against their own Chief Minister, Prakash Singh Badal some years ago. The Charter was full of blackmailing, insults and insinuations. Prakash Singh Badal backed Sant Harchand Singh Longowal but when the Sant tried to listen to all sections of the party, Prakash Singh Badal again crawled on all four to these notoriously irreligious destructive Jathedars, Talwandi and Tohra. As there is no other Sant in the pockets of Akali leader and no Jathedar worth the name can stand up in an upright manner and face the situation Prakash Singh Badal and his henchmen once more depend helplessly on these Jathedars to open the way for his emergence as the old Chief Minister with a new face. How far Prakash Singh Badal goes, in trying to sail in the fast sinking boats of Jathedar Jagdev Singh Talwandi and G.S. Tohra, God alone knows.

Yet one more Himalayan blunder of Prakash Singh Badal and his henchmen in S.G.P.C. has made this ex-Chief Minister and his group a laughing stock of the whole Sikh world. This is by promotion and appointment of Delhi Akali workers of Badal group Harcharan Singh (a coal depot holder) as Jathedar Akal Takht. The appointment of Aka! Takht and other Takht Jathedars by S.G.P.C. and by the so called Panthic Committee has been so disgusting, degrading and disgraceful that I will discuss the issue in a book on the subject. It would have been better if Prakash Singh Badal had appointed himself as Jathedar Akal Takht because he at least unrolled his beard two years before Harcharan Singh did. Harcharan Singh has some political standing in Delhi but he has no religious standing either in Delhi or in Punjab. He is not competent even to act as an Assistant Granthi in Sis Ganj Gurdwara, who has to interpret one verse of Guru Granth every day to the congregation and explain Suraj Prakash in the evening. Harcharan Singh cannot explain even a line of Guru Granth or Suraj Prakash to any congregation. He could only be a little better than one Takht Jathedar Nirvair Singh of Panthic Committee (a truck driver made Priest) who has ditched the Panthic Committee and all that goes with it once for all. Jathedar Jagdev Singh Talwandi, Badal's old enemy will now be his new Akali Dal Chief. If Prakash Singh Badal takes his politics and religion on the wheels of Talwandi and Harcharan Singh he is undoubtedly prepared to sink his prestige to the lowest level. He should cease to think and believe that he can either unite the Akalis or lead the Sikhs in this manner in future.

I wrote in my book "Responsibility of Sikh Youth" which was reviewed by the National Press in November 1981, "Mrs Indira Gandhi knows when and where to take a bite at this overripe apple Akali Dal," and now what is left of it may be chewed and swallowed by Rajiv Gandhi who appears to be working on Kautalya's dictum; "Do not fear the results of Karma, rely on your strength. No one has ever seen in this world what the fruits are of good or an evil deed. Let us then aspire to be strong, because all things belong to the man who is strong. Might is above right; right proceeds from might. Right in itself is devoid of command, it leans on might as the creeper on the tree. Right is in the hands of the strong; nothing is impossible to the strong. Everything is pure that comes from the strong" This is the key-note of Rajiv Gandhi's policy towards the Sikhs.

Once when I was with Kapur Singh at his Chandigarh residence some youngmen came and asked Kapur Singh a question; "What should the Sikh Youth do to save the Sikh Panth from the worsening situation?" Kapur Singh remained silent for some time and then said, "I will answer the question if you do not ask another question and leave us alone, we have met after many months." The boys agreed. Raising his voice in bitterness of his experience of thirty years he said in a prophetic tone, "Remove three 'B's' and three Jathedars from the political stage before it is too late and the Sikhs may get an opportunity to throw up new courageous and enlightened leadership who can guide the Sikhs in the right direction." Then to clarify he added after a short time, "the three are Balwant Singh, Badal and Barnala and three Jathedars are Gurcharan Singh Tohra, Jagdev Singh Talwandi and Jiwan Singh Umranangal". The record of treachery and betrayals of these three B's and three Jathedars are very much before us. Their performance in the last five years would put every Sikh to shame except their shameless Akali drum-beaters.

IX

KAPUR SINGH AS A FRIEND

Akali leaders believed that Kapur Singh had no friends. It was perhaps quite correct in the world of Akali Sants, Jathedars and Ex-Ministers which did not number more than a few hundreds. But Kapur Singh lived like a living flame in the hearts of his countless readers. Akali leaders, Sants and Ministers never read his books, and they are still allergic lo those who write books. I do not think any Akali Minister has even seen the title-covers of Kapur Singh's books.

A Chinese proverb says, "There are plenty of acquaintance in the world but very few real friends." Among the Sikh intellectuals Kapur Singh was intellectually and spiritually very close to my heart and soul. Some evil forces of disruption tried to tear us apart by creating some misunderstanding in 1980 but within a few months he was the first to express deep regret about the episode. During his last illness he would again and again remind me of the inner bond of deep friendship that had kept us on ideological front for over forty years.

We were not friends who merely talk, laugh, eat, drink and make merry together. He had a whole circle of such elite friends in Shimla and Chandigarh with whom he enjoyed dinners but never shared his inner thought and experiences of his intellectual life. They were mere acquaintances in his social life. We always met at the finer intellectual level and discussed many things on the plane of higher religious and spiritual values which have found expression in our books in different forms.

My second nature from childhood has been to avoid those whom I do not understand at any level, and those who either fail to understand me or willfully do not wish to understand me. A tribe called politicians have always been outside the orbit of my inner circle, Sardar Kapur Singh was one scholar with whom there was always complete understanding as our writings on some subjects will reveal to the future generation. We did have minor differences on some philosophic issues and on the mode of formulating the Sikh political demands on which his theories were basically right and would become guidelines to discerning Sikh youth in future.

We always made an effort to discuss these differences in our correspondence and reached a good deal of unanimity.

In his conversations Kapur Singh took a rigid stand, but when writing a letter he was very polite, humble, open-minded and generous. He was open to conviction when someone whom he considered his equal in intellectual standing and knowledge could openly discuss an issue with him through a rational discussion. "One of the most beautiful qualities of true friendship," said Seneca, is to understand and to be understood. We were inwardly close to each other and had complete unanimity on our views of Sikh doctrines and tradition of our sacred Institutions.

Like other human beings Kapur Singh had his aberrations, but he was a man with boundless energy. Fate had thrown him into a well of lonely isolation by the very Akali party he tried to help all his life. When pseudo-intellectuals gathered around him and selfish and greedy politicians clustered around him and talked shop, he felt deeply hurt and his aberrations often assumed grotesque form. He had a feeling that they were around either to test his knowledge or to exploit him and make a fool of him.

We always knew that the subjects we at times discussed seriously were so profound and deep that no human being could say this is the last word on it. With this attitude in view we discussed all subjects with candour and mutually stimulating insights.

Kapur Singh was firmly with me in many raging controversies on such issues as "Four Takhats", Havan Kunds and Sanctity of Takhts abused by Sant Fateh Singh and his successors, and the issue of Martyrdom of Guru Tegh Bahadur. In almost all such controversies we were instinctively together. Without planning anything and without even meeting each other, we fought these battles with the force of historical facts at our disposal. We knew Truth will ultimately prevail and falsehood and distortions projected by Akali leaders will fade away and stand self-condemned. We defended each other's position when it was attacked by motivated and irrational arguments by erratic thinkers and irresponsible writers. Thus our bond of friendship was based on the principle which Albert Camus sums up in a few lines.

Don't walk in front of me,
I may not follow,
Don't walk behind me
I may not lead.
Walk beside me And just be my friend. Albert Camus.

Kapur Singh had a very tender love for his mother who passed away on Guru Nanak's birthday. Every year he would go to his village home on the outskirts of Jagraon and perform an *Akhand Path*. I attended the function twice. He would remember the last words of his mother and with tears in his eyes become for some moments an embodiment of compassion and love, a mood in which Kapur Singh was rarely seen.

During his illness in C.M.C. Hospital he would remember his grandson again and again and even write his name with his semiparalysed hand in a note book; perhaps the only way left to him to channelize his love for his grandson. He asked me to write to him to come and see him at least once before he dies. I do not know whether his grandson brought up in American surroundings will ever remember his un-American grandfather but when he grows up and is mature enough to understand his grandfathers book, and thoughts on Sikhism he may feel how great, wise and dynamic his much misunderstood grandpa was.

Whenever Kapur Singh visited Delhi the first thing he would do was to go and meet a bedridden Muslim lady for whom he had a deep personal affection. He would never miss seeing her,

and although she could not come, her husband came to Punjab to pray by the side of ailing Kapur Singh.

Amongst like-minded people, Kapur Singh was always gentle and polite; amongst the learned he was always humble and eager to openly share his views; amongst friends he was always bubbling with humour and jocular outbursts, but among Akali politicians and pseudo-intellectuals he reacted as an intolerant and angry man. When I asked him the reason, he said once, "I cannot tolerate intellectual fools and political scoundrels. They pretend to know everything but know nothing about anything of importance. I have no patience with them." Thus his impatience and intolerance became proverbial in many circles.

KAPUR SINGH: THE MAN AND HIS STYLE

Kapur Singh's style and expression both in English and Punjabi and his handwriting resembling a medieval calligraphic style, shows the man himself upright, bold, domineering and imposing. There is an orderliness in his Johnsonian sentences radiating an active rhythm of an elevated scholarly prose. There is vigour and piercing sharpness in his expression and his writings which reveals much more than verbal abundance.

There is a wealth of intellectual originality illumined by historical experiences of the Sikh people in concentrated form in all his writings. His style is original and conscious but in some places laboured; his phrases are fresh and powerful because his language has its source in his depth of knowledge and ideals on which he had meditated and thought deeply for years. Quotations came naturally to him and he quoted them from his prodigious memory. At the root of his direct, terse and at times impatient language in his political critical writings, one can see and feel the repressed anger of a long pent-up indignation caused by political suffering. Sometimes the blade-like penetration of his mind touches the of unexplained thoughts which can be seen in most of his essays. For three decades the Akali Dal Jathedars G.S. Tohra, J.S Talwandi and their henchmen, the Akali Dal Ministers Badal, Barnala and Balwant Singh and their stooges and above all Akali Dal Sants like Fatah Singh, Chanan Singh, and Harchand Singh Longowal shot arrows after arrows to hurt his body, mind and prestige. But these vicious arrows could not touch his soul, his dignity and his unshakable faith in the social and political ideals of Sikh Dharma. Guru Ram Das has given to the world his firm conviction and eternal law of divine justice and chastisement:

je ko sar sandhe janu par phir ulto tisai lagavaigo If anyone shoots an arrow On a man of God and Truth The arrow turns back strikes down the very person Who shot the arrow.

Guru Granth, Guru Ram Das, Rag Kanara

Kapur Singh has passed into the realm of immortality. The arrows which these wily Akali Jathedars and Ex Ministers shot at him have boomeranged on them and according to the law of divine justice will keep on striking at them and bleed their hypocritical and darkly treacherous minds to humiliation and ignominious political and moral death. Of this I have no doubt.

Kapur Singh was one of those rare and dynamic personalities about whom Plato said, "He was a good man — troubled on every side, yet not distressed, perplexed but not in despair, persecuted, but not forsaken, cast down but not destroyed." He will live in the memory of those

young men who are in search of guidance and Light in the strife-torn situation today. His works will continue to give light and wisdom to the religious, social and political destiny of the Sikhs in this darkest period of our history.

In ten years to come the names of those Jathedars and Ministers who used him and abused him, and who tried to crush him will be thrown into oblivion and their names erased from the pages of history by their own misdeeds and political crimes against their own people. Kapur Singh will continue to be admired, read, and adored and highly respected and honoured for generations to come.